1:Levi-Strauss--90 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
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601 up to the present time. We do not pretend to found a dualistic theory of organization (2) on these limited observations whose

2. This point has been developed before; cf. "Dual organization etc.," loc. cit.

character remains anecdotal. However, we are indeed in the presence of one of those cases where "the fundamental traits of the clan organization are found, in a certain measure, to be preformed in tribes destitute of clan (3)." It would suffice, to

3. R.H. Lowie, "Family and Sib," American Anthropologist, N.S., Vol. 21, 1919, pp. 28-40.

satisfy the exigencies of dualistic organization, that the new group should settle down, and maintain the memory of its ambiguous origin by continuing to avoid confusing the two sets of fires.

Finally, this system manifests, under a new aspect, this preponderance of men which we have called attention to as regards inter-individual relationships. It is through the men that alliances of groups are decided, as also eventually, their wars.

• • • •

600 The preceding remarks have perhaps another interest: that of suggesting an interpretation of observations of a sociological character which one finds scattered in the ancient literature relating to South America.

601 171 One should first note some striking analogies between certain traits of the Nambikwara kinship system and those which can be attributed to the family organization of the ancient Tupi of the Brazilian shore. It will be seen later that, on the metaphysical plan, there are not only themes common to the two cultures, but that such religious terms of the Nambikwara vocabulary have an evident Tupi origin. Each time that we are to describe the small incidents of the daily life of the Nambikwara, the temptation is almost irresistible [80] to quote Jean de Léry and Yves d'Evreux, for it is so true that the same words of these old authors can literally be applied to one culture, later by four centuries. But it is in the kinship system that the resemblances are the clearest: the two cultures invoke

622 he is incapable of satisfying increasing demands, and must refuse firmly:

32. kʼinde hõta agnãre hõta (bl)
The giving is finished! Being generous is finished!

[86] or must even pose the question of confidence:

33. duhʼĩri (gi) dnje̊ tunundje̊ tundzentine hãknerejane (bl)
Go away! Giving is done with! Let another be generous (in my place)!

622 However it evidently depends on his ability and moderation whether
648 or not these refusals keep the demands of his companions within reasonable limits or provoke discontent and resulting ruptures. Under these conditions, the relationships which the chief succeeds in cementing with the outside world—other Nambikwara bands and neighboring tribes—have extreme importance. The chief has traveled widely. Within the limits of his territory, he has visited tribes different from his own and which his companions know only through his commentaries. We ourselves have had the impression of being used for political purposes: we have told above what the reactions of A1 were as regards writing. (1) He wished on this basis to attempt a vast operation, and

1. See above, p. 40 f.

he united several related bands under the pretext of meeting us, begging us without explanation to postpone the exchange of objects with the Indians. This enigmatic attitude lasted till the day when, assembling all his guests in a circle, he exhibited a piece of paper covered with wavy lines, and made a pretense of reading to each individual the nature and importance of the present which I was supposed to give to each one. All that with my complicity, obviously stupefied and immediately acquired. The Indians were even more impressed. The plan, such as we were able to understand it, consisted of fortifying his power by presenting himself as the sponsor and protector of the white visitor, whose secrets he was reputed to know at the same time. But the card of civilization thus played is assuredly vain. Six months later, we found A1 at the head of a severely reduced group and without illusion as to the failure of his vast projects. He watched us leave with real sadness, as though he were losing, with us, the last vestige of his prestige.

622 The charges of leadership being presented under such unattractive colors, one might ask what makes an individual accept them. It was not possible for us to determine exactly what the modalities are to be

1: Levi-Strauss--105 E-8 (1938-1949)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

622 The command carries, moreover, a certain number of fixed offices. It is the chief who makes the poison for arrows; and he presides over ceremonies of initiation, of marriage or burial, concerning which we shall speak later. He organizes chants and dances, festivals both when they assume a ritual character, and when they have as a goal purely secular distraction. It is he who organizes 622 ball games. The ball game is widespread in western and northern 526 Mato Grosso, for it is found from the Xingu to the tribes of the Lower Guaporé. Among the latter people we have been able to gather evidences of its sociological significance. It is perhaps the same among the Nambikwara; but, at least during the period of nomadic life, the ball game is practiced with a purely recreational goal in mind. The teams are built up haphazardly from those present and upon the spur of the moment, and the game takes place in a spirit of complete improvisation.

WAR AND TRADE

648 The two subjects should be treated simultaneously, commercial 609 exchanges usually representing potential wars peacefully re-[91] 439 solved, and the wars, the outcome of unhappy transactions. Among the numerous bands which cross through the bush during the dry season, it is necessary to distinguish those who are related by family ties, and who often represent the population of a winter village—or of a group of villages—which has "burst forth" in the pursuit of the nomadic life. Among themselves these bands entertain relationships which are normally pacific, although not necessarily so. On the contrary, bands which are strangers to one another, composed of members not related among themselves and whose geographic location is far distant, or who are even separated by differences of language, mistrust one another at the same time that they feel themselves necessary to one another. Only when they meet can they procure desirable articles which only one of them is capable of obtaining or of making. These articles seemed to us to belong essentially to three categories: first of all women, whom only victorious expeditions are permitted to carry off. Next seeds, notably bean seeds, and finally ceramics, or [283] even fragments of pottery used to make the weights of spindles. Group [84] al whose cultural level is clearly inferior (especially in its ignorance concerning pottery) to that of its western and southern neighbors, according to the word of its chief, had carried on several campaigns during the last few years with the goal of procuring these two last articles.

•648 609 Also, the attitude of two bands who know that they are neighbors is very significant. They fear the clash of contact, and at the same time they desire it. In fact, they cannot meet one another accidentally, for for several weeks they watch the vertical smoke from the campfire which rises, perfectly discernable at some twenty kilometers, into the middle of the clear sky of the cold season. It is one of the most impressive spectacles of the Nambikwara territories when towards evening this smoke suddenly fills a horizon which one had thought deserted. Is the band which approaches friend or foe? They do not know, and they discuss at length their course of conduct. For days or weeks they avoid one another by maintaining a reasonable distance between the fires, then one day, according to whether the contact appears inevitable, desirable, or necessary, the women and children scatter in the bush and the men leave to face the unknown. We attended one of these "encounters" (nakohatigge, bl). A long conversation is entered upon (dekihotige, bl) between the two bands reduced to their masculine elements, or more exactly, the leaders undertake, in turn, a sort of prolonged monologue, composed of exclamations, uttered one after another, in a tone at the same time plaintive and tearful, where the voice rises and trails off in nasal fashion at the end of each word. The group animated by warlike intentions exposes its grief. The peaceful protest their good intentions. It was not possible for us to reconstruct thee word for word translation of this discourse. However, we give hhere the Indian text, insofar as we have been [92] able to get it, , and its approximate translation, for the purpose of showing the cconstruction and specific tone:

[537] 38. One group begins: njarondigẽ ninokuẽ. --"We are very irritated! you are our enemies!" And, after a series of exclamations of this type, the other replies: iã oraẽ touadeẽ nuhaigigiẽn nukenaetiẽ nukenaiñ' nukenitenohiñ moladeringuiñ nagatalininiot endiguẽ. -- "We are not irritated! We are your brothers! We are friends! Your friends! True friends! We can understand onne another." (bl)

After having exchanged these peaceful protestations, the groups reform and a common encampment is organized, each group preserving its individuality and gathering together its fires, and sometimes songs and dances are organized in the courseie of which each group disparages its own exhibition to the profit of that of the other group:

1: Lévi-Strauss--1948 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

648 37. tamaĩn ãtne munãtiare munãtiendãtiore niaĩ' (bl)
609 The Tamande' sing well; as for me, I cannot sing well any more!
201 In one case which we witnessed, the genital tone was quickly raised with the excitement of the meeting, and the night had not yet ended before the speeches mixed with chants made an extraordinary uproar, whose significance escaped us completely. Menacing gestures were outlined, sometimes even some scuffles were produced while other Indians intervened as mediators. All of these hostile manifestations are stylized, and end as gestures calling to mind sexual parts of the body. On the part of the aggressor, menace, or the gesture of Nambikwara hostility, consists of seizing the penis with two hands and directing it towards the adversary while inflating the stomach and thrusting it out, and of flexing the knees (the men also make this gesture in fun toward children when they wish to get rid of them). The second stage consists of an act of aggression toward the person
[291] of the adversary, with a view to tearing off the piece of buriti straw attached to the front of the waist, above the sex organs. The latter "are hidden by the straw" and "they fight to tear away the straw." This action is entirely symbolic, for the covering of the male sex organs is made of such fragile material and is reduced so small in size (and often non-existent) that it is out of the question for it to assure protection of or be any kind of covering for the organs. Another form of aggression consists of seizing the adversary's bow and arrows and laying them aside. In all of these actions the attitude of the Indians is extremely tense as if they were (and really, they are) in a state of violent and contained anger. Doubtless these brawls degenerate at times into generalized conflicts, but in our case, they calmed down at dawn. Always [93] in the same state of apparent irritation, and with gestures devoid of friendship, the adversaries looked at one another to inspect one another, rapidly
[301] feeling the earrings, the cotton bracelets, the little feather ornaments, while murmuring rapid words:

38. tõhẽ tõhẽ kãhẽ kãhẽ muninĩti (bl)
Give, give, see, see, it is pretty!

648 This "inspection of reconciliation" marks the normal conclusion
439 of the conflict. And actually it is this which introduces the new aspect which the relationships between the two groups are going to take—commercial exchanges. However summary the material culture of the Nambikwara may be, the products of the industry of the different groups are highly prized by their neighbors. The eastern groups need pottery and seeds; the northern and central groups consider

that their southern neighbors make particularly nice necklaces. Also the meeting of the two groups, when it can take place in a peaceful manner, has as a consequence a series of reciprocal presents. The always impending conflict gives way to a market. This has some very remarkable characteristics in the sense that if one regards the presents only as presents, they do not bring any thanks nor proof of satisfaction. And if one considers them exchanges, they are effected without any bargaining, attempts to set the value of the article, depreciation, or manifestation of disagreement between the parties. Truthfully, they take pains not to admit that there are exchanges going on. Each goes about his usual occupations, and the objects or products go from one to the other, without the one who gives making note of the gesture by which he hands over his present, and without the one who receives paying any attention to his new wealth. In this way are exchanged husked cotton and balls of thread; blocks of wax or resin; urucu paste; shells, earrings, bracelets and necklaces; tobacco and seeds; feathers and sticks of bamboo destined for making arrow points; skeins of palm fibers, porcupine quills; whole pots or broken pottery; gourds. This mysterious circulation of merchandise goes on without haste for a half day or a whole day, after which the groups separate, and each one takes inventory of what he has received, and remembers what he has given. Thus, as regards the equity of the transactions, the Nambikwara trust entirely, the generosity of the partner. The idea that one might estimate, discuss or bargain, demand or take back is entirely foreign to them. We had promised an Indian a hunting sword as the price of transporting a message to a neighboring group. The commission was done, but upon the return of the messenger we had neglected, occupied by other cares, to give him immediately the agreed upon recompense, thinking that he himself would come to get it. He did nothing, and the next day we could not find him. He had left, very irritated his companions told us, and we did not [94] see him again. We were forced to entrust the present to another Indian. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that when the exchanges are finished, one of the groups departs discontented with its lot and, while taking inventory of its acquisitions and recalling its own presents, accumulates bitterness for weeks or months, which become greater and greater and more aggressive. It seems that wars very often have no other origin. Naturally other causes exist, such as a murder or carrying off women, depending on whether one desires to take the initiative, or whether one wishes to avenge a preceding attack; but it does not seem that a band feels

Fig. 19
Left: a man; center: a monkey; right: sketch made by Al while explaining his genealogy (c. p. 40, fn. 1).

[157] 747 177 648

The fact is that purely comical and sometimes childish appearances sometimes cover attitudes which, without being contradictory to the preceding, are nevertheless very different. The history of the eastern group, in the course of [134] these last years, is very significant in this regard. From 1909 to 1920, the installation of the telegraph line was marked by periodical conflicts alternating with cordial contacts, but in 1925, seven workers of the line were invited to visit (for the first time) the villages of the right bank of the Juruena River where we went later in 1938, and they disappeared there. From this time on, the contacts of the eastern group with the posts of the Rondon Line were interrupted, but in 1933 a Protestant mission was installed not far from the post on the Juruena. It seems that from the beginning relationships were quite strained, the Indians not being satisfied with the presents, very insufficient, they say, by which the missionaries paid for their help in the construction of the house and the planting of the garden. Whatever the case may have been, in 1933 a feverish Indian presented himself at the mission, and publicly received two capsules of "Cafiaspirin" which he took, after which he went to take a bath in the river, had a congestion and died. Through expert practitioners, the Nambikwara concluded that he

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had been poisoned. An attack of reprisal was carefully prepared and took place, in the course of which A1 and A5 distinguished themselves. The six persons composing the mission were killed by beating or pierced with arrows, including a baby of two. Only one woman was found alive by an expedition sent to aid them from Cuiabá. The version which she gave of the events coincides exactly with that which we collected from the main protagonists of the other camp.

Poison was still to play a role in the life of A6, and this during our stay. We found ourselves visiting (August 1938) at the camp of a neighboring group (a2), and relationships became quickly strained between A6 and our hosts, undoubtedly over the question of women, so that he got the habit of coming to my camp to seek a more friendly atmosphere, at the same time that he shared my food. This fact was noticed, a delegation of four men came to find me one day, and in quite a menacing tone of voice told me to mix some poison (which they brought me along) in the next dish which I would offer to A6; they thought it advisable and indispensable to do away with him at once, for, they told me, he is "very wicked" (hakore) and "is worth nothing" (ajãkeine). I had the greatest difficulty in getting rid of my visitors without opposing them with a refusal which in turn would have exposed me to animosity which I had just learned it was better to avoid, and I considered my best plan of action to exaggerate my ignorance of the language, and to feign obstinate lack of comprehension. After several attempts, my visitors retired very disappointed. I warned A6 who immediately disappeared. I was to see him again only four months later.

These incidents are characteristic of Nambikwara psychology. The Nambikwara are very open, confident and spontaneous, but they are very sensitive and react with great violence to deception [128] or disappointment. Few primitives are as easily accessible. Few give as free access to their intimate lives, to their beliefs, daily acts, thoughts and sentiments. But despite this facility and cordiality, the visitor, be he an ethnographer or a member of a neighboring tribe—must constantly be on guard and watch his actions; for the slightest imprudence, the least clumsiness, may incite reactions difficult to evaluate among his hosts, and in connection with which recent events are always present to recall that they may be extreme. A6 offered a perfect example of this confidence and spontaneity, allied with brusk manifestations of violence and irritability.

Thus, the Nambikwara character alternately presents two aspects, or more exactly, testifies to a double nature: one which we shall call positive, and which goes much farther in this sense than among many Indians in contact for centuries with the whites; and the other, of metaphysical nature, whose rigor and exaltation at times evoke the mysticism of the North

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
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THE NAMBICUARA

By Claude Lévi-Strauss

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

101 The *Nambicuara* (*Nambikwara, Manduyara, Mahihara*) have been identified only recently. *Nambicuara*, meaning "long eared," was originally a *Tupi* nickname used since the 18th century for the little-known tribes of the western and northern parts of the Serra dos Parecis. These tribes had large ear and lip plugs, like those of the *Suya* and *Botocudo*, and were called Beiços de Pau, "Wooden Mouths," by the rubber collectors and gold miners. About 1830, they began to make hostile sorties from the region of the upper Sangue River. When, in 1907, General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon discovered important tribes in the Serra do Norte, he identified them with the *Nambicuara* of the old literature. Thus, *Nambicuara* designates a tribe other than the "Long Ears," or "Wooden Mouths," to whom it was originally applied.

131 Extending northwest from the Papagaio River more or less to the confluence of the Commemoração and the Barão de Melgaço Rivers, branches of the Machado (Gi-Paraná) River, the region of the *Nambicuara* (map 1, *No. 2;* map 2; map 4) is bounded on the south by the right tributaries of the Guaporé River and, farther west, by the whole of the Commemoração de Floriano River. The northern boundary is unknown but probably runs more or less along the 11th parallel between the Theodore Roosevelt and Papagaio Rivers. (Lat. 10°–15° S., long. 57°–61° W.)

101 The first classification of the *Nambicuara* was made by Roquette-Pinto
197 (1938, pp. 216–217), who listed four main groups. Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b), using linguistic data, distinguishes three main groups. Two of these, which are subdivided into two groups each, clearly belong to the same linguistic family, but the linguistic affiliation of the third group, which is undivided, is doubtful. These groups are: *Eastern Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Kôkôzu, Cocozu*) between the Papagaio and Juina Rivers; *Northeastern Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Anuuzu*) in the basins of the Camararé and Dore de Outubro Rivers; *Central* and *Southern*

½ [Not processed for the File. - Analyst]

181 Cadaveo, perhaps reminiful of their slave-owning
171 past, are proud, conceited, and boastful. The Arawak-speaking Tawaa and Paresi, like the Arawak-speaking Waurá, are quiet, unassuming, friendly, and ready to help yet take no liberties. The Umotina speak only when spoken to and appear to wish to be by themselves. They provide information if they think the gifts are sufficient and to their taste; otherwise, they saunter off and are never available when required. An Umotina does just what he wishes to do and hates any kind of dictation. The Rocairé and Camayurá are intimately friendly, talkative, and ingratiating, expect gifts and bestow gifts in return, volunteer information, are full of humor and curiosity, and are clean and polite.

181 The Nambicuara, on the other hand, are surly,
576 and impolite even to rudeness. On many occa-
609 sions when I went to visit Julio at his camp he was lying down near a fire and as he saw me approach he turned his back to me saying that he did not wish to talk. The missionaries informed me that a Nambicuara will ask for some object several times and if it is not given to him he will try to take it. In order to keep the Indians out they would sometimes close the screen door, but if a Nambicuara really wanted to enter he would tear a hole in the screen and walk in. The Nambicuara have two well-recognized ways of showing disgust or disdain. One day I stopped a woman carrying a burden basket to take her photograph. She evidently did not like being stopped, for as she passed me a moment later she turned her back to me and passed wind. This the missionaries claimed is a very common custom of the Nambicuara. The men have an even stronger way of showing disbelief and disgust. After listening to something with which he does not agree a Nambicuara will get up, grasp his penis, and slap it sharply against his groin and walk off with a "that for you" look. One might call it a Nambicuara "raspberry." Although some of these personality
181 traits are old and culturally defined, there appears
● 648 to be little doubt that the Nambicuara have a deep hatred of the white man. They realize that the white men are rich compared with themselves and that contact with the whites has brought diseases which are killing them off rapidly. They realize, too, that both the whites and the Paresi consider them in the lowest category of human beings.

[p.85(A)]

[101] The Parecí call the Nambicuara "those who sleep on the ground" and ridicule them in other ways. One does not have to remain long among the Nambicuara in order to feel this underlying hatred, mistrust, and despair, which create in the observer a feeling of depression not unmixed with sympathy.

The Nambicuara is the only tribe I have met who speak pidgin Portuguese, which without some training is almost unintelligible. For instance, "bastante" becomes mamade, "pequeno" becomes akiki, "grande" becomes papoi, and "criança" becomes pinto. If they wish to compare two things to bring out a likeness they say this thing is the brother of something else.

Compared with their neighbors, the Parecí and Irantxe, the Nambicuara are taller, darker, and longer-headed. It is very easy, for instance, even at a distance, to distinguish Nambicuara children from Parecí children when they are bathing in the river. In contrast to the light brown of the Parecí skin the Nambicuara skin appears to have an element of black that gives it a dark-gray undertone. Many individuals have a certain amount of wave in their hair, although the waviness may be accentuated by the unkempt matted condition of the hair. Detailed measurements and indexes are given in Appendix 3.[1] The eyes of the Nambicuara are very dark brown, almost black in some individuals, and have a brightness which contrasts sharply with the rather dull eye of the Parecí. The only other Indians that I have met with this brightness of the eye are the Caduveo. This brilliance of the eyes does not appear to be correlated with health, for even the sick have it among both peoples.

The Nambicuara, as a whole, occupy a territory bounded on the east by the Papagaio River and on the west by the headwaters of the Rio Roosevelt and the Pimenta Bueno River. To the south they extend as far as the headwaters of the Rio Juruena and the Rio Kabishí. To the north they are bounded by a line running roughly from latitude 12°30′ on the Papagaio River to latitude 11° on the Rio Roosevelt. Formerly, it is believed, they extended farther northward. The telegraph line runs through Nambicuara territory beginning at Utiarity and ending at Barão de Melgaço to the west. The territory to the south and east of the Nambicuara is occupied by the remnants of the Parecí. To the north of the Nambicuara

[1] [See Cat. 116, pp. 128-135.—A.]

621 security and marital possibilities are endangered it will unite with some other band.

161 According to the missionaries who live in the area, the number of individuals in each band of the Eastern Nambicuara are as follows: Wakiltisu, 18; Kitânhlu, 45, Elétasu, 17; Chiwtisu, 50. Old census figures give the population of the Western Nambicuara as 500, but the missionaries assured me that they doubted whether even half [164] as many exist today. It must be remembered that an epidemic of measles or "grippe" can diminish the population very rapidly. Syphilis and tuberculosis also exist among them. Judging from the physical appearance of the individuals and their general attitude toward life, it appears that the Eastern Nambicuara, at least, are dying out rapidly.

114 According to Roquette-Pinto, perhaps the earliest visitor to the territory now occupied by the Nambicuara was Antonio Pires do Campo, who went north up the Sepotuba River, which he called Hisipotuba, between 1718 and 1723, and in all likelihood reached the headwaters of the Sacre and Papagaio Rivers. In his Breve Noticia published in 1746, he mentions the Caviro Indians living in the valleys of the rivers running northward into the Amazon River.

Some years later Padre Ayres de Casal mentions a tribe living on the Juruena River, a territory long occupied by the Nambicuara. From 1900 on, rumors about the Indians living in this area increased. In 1862, Dr. Amedée Moure published a monograph on the Indians of Mato Grosso in which he devoted a chapter to the 10 savage, man-eating tribes, among whom he listed the Umotina, Cabixi, Nambicuara, and the Tapanuma (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, pp. 26–51).

The first reliable accounts of the Nambicuara date from 1907 to 1912, the period when General Rondon was putting up the telegraph line between Cuiabá and Porto Velho. In 1912, Roquette-Pinto visited the Nambicuara and the Parecí, and later published the results of his investigations in his book entitled "Rondonia." This book undoubtedly is the first anthropologically competent report about the Nambicuara. After 1910, 648 small Government Indian Posts were established, one at Tuloua on the upper Cravarí River, a short distance east of Utiarity, and another called Pyrenevs do Sousa between Campos Novos and

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Vilhena. These Indian Posts have had only limited success in attracting the Nambicuara, because the region is agriculturally so poor that it is difficult to grow enough food to maintain a settled population, and at present the Indians only visit these posts occasionally.

Intensive missionary activity among the Nambicuara began when two American Protestant missionaries, Arthur F. Tylee and William R. Henricks, established a mission station at Juruena in 1925. In October 1930, the Reverend Mr. Tylee, his baby daughter, Miss Mildred Kratz (nurse), and three Brazilians employed by the mission were killed by the Nambicuara belonging to Julio's band. Mrs. Tylee, although struck three or four times on the head while rushing to her child who was still in bed, was only stunned and came to after the Indians had left. One Brazilian hired man escaped to get help from the telegraph station. Some years later new Protestant missions were established at Campos Novos (Nambicuaras) and at Utiarity. At present only the mission station at Utiarity is in operation.

The Jesuits established a mission at Juruena about 1930, but in 1940 moved it to its present site in Utiarity. Today both the Protestant and Catholic missions are, therefore, located in Utiarity, which not only is connected by truck road to Cuiabá but is also centrally located. To the east and south are the remnants of the Paresí, and to the north, the Iranxe, who, although not speaking the Paresí language, appear to belong to the Arawak-speaking family. Further northward are tribes with which the missionaries are planning to make contacts. To the west are the Nambicuara. Although officially on friendly terms there is considerable tension between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, as they are competing for the allegiance of the same Indian population.

ECONOMY

Although the Nambicuara practice a shifting agriculture, their dependence upon the wild animal and plant life of the region is so extensive that they might well be classed as nomadic hunters and collectors. The semiarid plateau provides little in the way of agricultural land, game, or fish. What little farming is practiced is carried on in the narrow "galeria" forests of the headwater streams.

[p. 87 (N)]

619 the bands. In 1937, the Kitânhlu band met a small group of Chiwtâisu out hunting and attempted to trade with them. As the Chiwtâisu were the smaller group, the Kitânhlu evidently tried to rob them. In the fight several Chiwtâisu were killed. These bands did not meet again until 1941, but the Chiwtâisu prowled around the Kitânhlu camp stealing what they could and trying to revenge their fallen comrades. In 1941, both bands happened to meet in Campos Novos, and the old quarrel was renewed. In the Chiwtâisu camp there was a child which had been born to a Kitânhlu woman married to a Chiwtâisu. A Kitânhlu took the child away by force saying that it belonged to his band. The Chiwtâisu retaliated by shooting down a Kitânhlu. A fight followed in which the Chiwtâisu were driven out after losing several of their band. For several years the Chiwtâisu remained away and were attacked by the Salâunsu, a wild tribe living to the north of the Nambicuara. In the last few years, a temporary peace has been arranged by the Chiwtâisu bringing presents of wax and honey to the Kitânhlu.

●648 Except at telegraph stations, mission stations, and at the two Indian Posts, the Nambicuara have few contacts with their neighbors, the Paresí and Iranxe. The Paresí consider the Nambicuara as their inferiors, and, as far as is known, the two peoples do not intermarry. The Iranxe hold themselves aloof from both tribes.

The efforts of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios to improv the lot of the Nambicuara have not been very successful. Part of this lack of success is, no doubt, due to the poor agricultural possibilities in the region. The Tolosa Post is situated in a barren region where it is difficult to grow sufficient food to maintain more than two or three families. The Nambicuara visit Tolosa, but after the food supply is consumed they move on. The other factor which makes it difficult to settle the Nambicuara in permanent villages is that they are hunters and shifting agriculturists. Lack of good agricultural land does not altogether explain this nomadic pattern of existence. Like the Caduveo who have excellent farming land the Nambicuara persist in continuing their traditional form of economy.

In contrast to the Paresí, who have become satisfactory employees of telegraph stations, mining camps, and mission stations, the Nambicuara

648 only work for the white man when they want an ax, a knife, a gun, or some article of clothing, and once they obtain what they want they wander off. Miners particularly are bitter about the fact that the Nambicuara are unreliable workers.

747 Missionary activity, which has been carried on intensively by both Protestants and Catholics for about 20 years, has been singularly unsuccessful in Christianizing the Nambicuara. The Jesuit priests informed me that only those individuals who have been taken to Diamantino as children and kept there can be said to understand the rudiments of Christianity. The hope is that eventually these individuals can be brought back to the tribe and through their influence their children will be raised as Christians. The Protestants tell the same story. The Indians remain around the mission stations, participate in prayer meetings, and perform little tasks for which they are compensated but they soon become bored and wander off. The Rev. L. W. Buckman told me that he raised a Nambicuara boy at the station and believed that he would remain, but one day the boy got married, left with his wife, and took up the old wandering pagan form of life. None of the Waklítisu band are considered Christians. When Marciano died [744] a few days before I left he was buried according to Indian custom, both Protestant and Catholic missionaries participating in the burial as onlookers. Among this band which has had as much missionary contact as any, there was not a single individual who could speak or read Portuguese. Some of the men, as has been mentioned, used a form of pidgin Portuguese as a means of communicating with their white neighbors.

648 The attitude of the Nambicuara toward the white man is not only one of suspicion and sullen resentment, but one of disdain. They call white people "civilisados" or sometimes "bean eaters." A Nambicuara feels insulted if these terms are applied to himself. He openly boasts of being a "bugre," a slang term widely applied to Indians in Brazil which signifies a sodomite or heathen. While all other Indians that I have met in Mato Grosso objected to this term when it was applied to them, the Nambicuara always use it when talking about themselves. Julio informed me that the Nambicuara always get sick when they visit white people. The missionaries confirmed this fact but added that the Nambicuara have now become

648 dependent upon the whites for metal tools, guns and ammunition, and feel it necessary to visit white settlements. The Nambicuara are not above visiting white men for treatment of injuries and cases of severe illness.

619 The interband relationships of the Eastern Nambicuara, although characterized by tensions and periodic open conflicts, are based on a recognition of common origin, common speech, and a degree of intercourse through trade, marriage, and the performance of dances in common. The relations with the so-called wild tribes to the north, on the other hand, are based on war, not just on raiding for loot and women, but on a war of extermination. Although the bands south of the telegraph line no longer participate in war, the bands north of the line still fight on occasion with their enemies which they call the Salâunsu and which the whites call the Beiço de Pau.

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726 When preparing for a war the chief of the band takes the men into the woods and tells them that there are bad people to the north which they must kill. Then after singing a war song they set about making many arrows and war clubs. The night before the attack they camp near the village of the enemy. The men paint their bodies with the sap of some latex tree and their faces with urucú and charcoal. They then take leaves and stuff them into any hole in the ground or in trees around their camp. After all the holes are stopped up, they take the skin of an anteater, the skin of a toad, and the leaves of a tree, which are used in preventing rain, and burn them. The stopping of the holes is believed to prevent the enemy from hearing them, the smoke is to blind the enemy's *owtasu* and, also, to make the enemy sleep soundly. The chief remains at this spot and sings all night with the shamans. At dawn the young men approach the huts of the enemy, stand in the doorways and shout, and when the occupants awaken they are shot down or clubbed. No one is spared. They then take whatever they can, burn the houses, and return to the chief and his singing shamans where the loot is distributed among the warriors.

621 The internal organization of the band is based upon kinship and is perpetuated through cross-cousin marriage. One belongs to the band of his or her mother. Julio explained that when the daughter of the wife whom he abducted from the Elótasu reaches puberty she will return to the

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